

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION PM-03

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 MBFR-02 NSC-10 NSCE-00 DODE-00

ACDA-10 GAC-01 EUR-10 L-02 INR-09 CIAE-00 NSAE-00

NEA-06 IO-03 OIC-01 AEC-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

PRS-01 RSR-01 RSC-01 EB-03 /085 W
----- 025898

P R 241708 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5299

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 07517

LIMDIS NOFORN

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL; BERLIN FOR AMBASSADOR

E. O. 11652: X- GDS-1

TAGS: PARM, UK, GW

SUBJECT: MBFR: FRG POSITION ON STATIONED/ INDIGENOUS
FORCE REDUCTIONS ISSUE.

REF: A. STATE 98511; B-. BONN 7214

SUMMARY: FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH BRIEFED
EMBOFF MAY 24 FOLLOWING TODAY'S GERMAN FEDERAL SECURITY
COUNCIL (FSC) CONSIDERATION OF US MBFR PAPER. FSC TOOK
" PRE- DECISION" OF PREFERENCE FOR US OPTION- I AND THAT
PARTICULAR ELEMENTS OF OPTION- III SHOULD BE STUDIED
CAREFULLY AND COULD BE UTILIZED AT AN APPROPRIATE
STAGE. THERE WAS VIGOROUS DISCUSSION OF STATIONED/
INDIGENOUS ASPECTS OF OPTION- I, BUT FSC TOOK NO DECISION.
CHANCELLOR AND CONCERNED MINISTERS WILL ADDRESS THIS
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ISSUE IN THE NEAR FUTURE FOLLOWING SCHEEL' S RETURN FROM THE MIDEAST. FOLLOWING ROTH' S REPORT, EMBOFF EXPLAINED US POSITION PER REFTEL GUIDANCE. ROTH GAVE ASSURANCES THAT THIS GUIDANCE WOULD BE USED WITH SCHEEL BUT WOULD NOT BE CITED IN INTER- MINISTERIAL DISCUSSIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING HIS PARTICIPATION IN MAY 24 FSC MEETING, ROTH PROVIDED EMBOFF BRIEFING IN STRICT CONFIDENCE ON THIS INITIAL TOP LEVEL FRG CONSIDERATION OF US MBFR PAPER. ROTH SAID MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY CHANCELLOR BRANDT, ACTING FONMIN FRANK, DEFMIN LEBER AND SPECIAL MINISTER BAHR.

2. ROTH SAID FSC TOOK " PRE- DECISION" THAT FRG PREFERRED US OPTION- I BUT THAT, FOLLOWING CAREFUL STUDY OF MIXED PACKAGE POSSIBILITY, ELEMENTS OF OPTION- III COULD BE UTILIZED, ESPECIALLY TO WIN SOVIET AGREEMENT TO ASYMMETRICAL TYPE AGREEMENT. THERE WAS LENGTHY AND VIGOROUS EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN FRANK AND LEBER ON ROLE AND TIMING OF STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS IN OPTION- I, BUT NO DECISION WAS TAKEN. ROTH SAID NEITHER THE CHANCELLOR NOR BAHR EXPRESSED ANY VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT AT THE MEETING, BUT BRANDT DIRECTED THAT SCHEEL, LEBER AND BAHR MEET WITH HIM AGAIN AT AN EARLY DATE IN AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE THESE ISSUES. IN THE MEANTIME, FRG NATO AMB KRAPF IS TO REFRAIN FROM ADDRESSING THESE ISSUES SPECIFICALLY IN THE COUNCIL BUT MAY INDICATE A GENERAL PREFERENCE FOR OPTION- I AS CORRESPONDING MOST CLOSELY TO THE GERMAN PHASED APPROACH.

3. ROTH SAID THAT, IN PRESENTING THE FONOFF POSITION AT THE FSC MEETING, FRANK SAID THAT THERE SHOULD BE SEPARATE NEGOTIATIONS ON STATIONED AND, AFTER A PAUSE FOR CONSIDERATION, POSSIBLY INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS UNDER THE FRAMEWORK OF US OPTION- I. FRANK CITED MOST OF THE FAMILIAR GERMAN ARGUMENTS FOR THIS PROPOSITION, PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZING THE NEED TO ASSURE CALCULABILITY OF THE PROJECT AND THE POSITION TAKEN BY BREZHNEV IN HIS BONN TALKS THAT MBFR WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT AND WOULD HAVE TO BE NEGOTIATED

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CAREFULLY AND STEP- BY- STEP. FRANK ALSO NOTED THE STRONG OPPOSITION OF THE FRENCH, ITALIANS AND BRITISH (USNATO 2531) AGAINST EARLY REDUCTIONS OF INDIGENOUS FORCES. FINALLY, FRANK CITED THE HIGH INTEREST OF THE US PRESIDENT IN REACHING MBFR AGREEMENT AT THE LATEST BY EARLY 1976. HE SAID THIS WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE, GIVEN THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY BREZHNEV IN BONN, IF THE

ALLIES ATTEMPTED SIMULTANEOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON BOTH STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS.

4. DEFMIN LEBER ARGUED STRONGLY THAT STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED AS ONE PACKAGE BUT IMPLEMENTED SEPARATELY, PERHAPS SIX MONTHS APART. HE SAID THE DEFENSE MINISTRY THEREFORE

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NEA-06 IO-03 OIC-01 AEC-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

PRS-01 RSR-01 RSC-01 EB-03 /085 W
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P R 241708 Z MAY 73
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5300
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION BERLIN
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 07517

LIMDIS/NOFORN

FAVORED US OPTION- I AS THE ONLY ONE OF THE THREE US OPTIONS THAT WOULD PERMIT SUCH AN INTEGRAL APPROACH. LEBER SAID HE FOUND SUPPORT IN THE US PAPER FOR THIS INTERPRETATION OF OPTION- I, CITING THE SENTENCES AT PAGE NINE SAYING THAT " THE OUTCOME OF THE INITIAL REDUCTION PHASE.... COULD LEAD TO A TIGHT LINKAGE BETWEEN THE STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS REDUCTION PHASE".

5. FRANK REPLIED THAT THE FONOFF ALSO FAVORS A PHASED INTEGRATED APPROACH AND HOLDING OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS, IF APPROPRIATE, AT A SUBSEQUENT PHASE. BUT FRANK ARGUED STRONGLY AGAINST

TREATING THE INDIGENOUS REDUCTION ISSUE AT TOO EARLY
A POINT IN THE MBFR PROCESS AS THE GERMANS SHOULD NOT
PERMIT THE SOVIETS ANY VOICE IN PRESENT GERMAN FORCE
STRUCTURE REFORMS.

6. FRANK SAID HE INTERPRETED US OPTION- I TO MEAN THAT
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BOTH NEGOTIATIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION OF STATIONED
AND INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS SHOULD PROCEED IN
SEPARATE PHASES. TO SUPPORT THIS POSITION, FRANK CITED
THAT PORTION OF THE US PAPER AT PAGE NINE WHICH READS:
QTE: AGREEMENT ON CONSTRAINTS WOULD BE PREFERABLE
PRIOR TO STATIONED FORCE REDUCTIONS BUT MUST NOT BE A
PRE- CONDITION. AT A MINIMUM, NEGOTIATED CONSTRAINTS
ON SOVIET FORCES WOULD ACCOMPANY STATIONED FORCE
REDUCTIONS. THEREFORE, THEY WOULD PRECEDE AGREEMENT
ON INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS. END QUOTE. FRANK
ARGUED THAT THIS LANGUAGE SUGGESTED THE US WISH TO
CONCLUDE NEGOTIATIONS ON STATIONED FORCE REDUCTIONS
BEFORE COMMENCING SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS UNDER
OPTION- I ON INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS.

7. FOLLOWING THIS REPORT FROM ROTH, EMBOFF EXPLAINED
US POSITION BY DRAWING ON REFTEL GUIDANCE. ROTH SAID
HE UNDERSTOOD THIS GUIDANCE TO CORRESPOND TO THE
ARGUMENTS ADVANCED BY FRANK AT THE FSC ROTH SAID
HE WOULD USE US GUIDANCE WITH DISCRETION IN SEEKING
TO PERSUADE SCHEEL TO FIGHT HARD FOR THIS POSITION
WHEN HE MEETS IN THE NEXT WEEK OR TWO WITH THE CHANCELLOR
AND HIS OTHER RELEVANT MINISTERIAL COLLEAGUES.
BUT ROTH ASSURED EMBOFF THAT THIS STATEMENT OF US
POSITION WOULD NOT BE INTRODUCED INTO INTERNAL
GERMAN DEBATE.
HILLENBRAND

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*** Current Classification *** SECRET

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